

161 natural increase in the Ukrainian parts of the Soviet Union, the USSR not having issued any statistics. It seems, however, that population was reduced by increased mortality.

161 The steady flow of emigration diminished the actual increase of the Ukrainian people. West Ukrainians go to the United States and Canada, the inhabitants of the Dnipro area to the Caucasus and Asia. Movements within the frontiers shift the population slowly to the east and south, these movements being strongest towards the Basin of the Donets and the North Caucasus, and weakest towards the areas on the right banks of the Dnipro and Galicia. There is also a steady flight from the country to the town. In consequence to an increase of the collective system, of famine and flight to the town, the population of the USSR did not grow since 1932; increase of population in the towns was opposed by considerable decrease in the country.

c) National Conditions

- 182 National conditions in the Ukrainian territory at present have been produced by long and complicated processes which Ukraine was forced to undergo by factors such as her geographical position, the extent of her territory, movements of colonisation, natural increase, migration, lack of an independent government, etc.

In consequence, the national composition of Ukrainian areas is characterised by peculiar features, such as a mixture of nationalities in many provinces, a fairly high percentage of national minorities, a considerable difference from the ethnological point of view between the populations of town and village, and so on.

167 We find different national conditions in the different frontier districts. In the West, the Ukrainian factor receded; the frontier between Ukraine and Poland was regulated in favor of the latter and, what was more important, the entire region of the frontier was settled by Poles who had been pressing east from time immemorial, in the search for better opportunities for their surplus population. The Polish immigration in these districts is

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VIII. NATIONALISM AND THE CHURCH

THE PRINCIPAL propagators of Ukrainian nationalism in the occupied Ukraine were political groups. They were, however, not the only bearers of the concept of Ukrainian distinctiveness. Religious organizations also played an important role. The relation of the Greek Catholic Church to the nationalist parties has already been discussed. Unlike the political parties, most of which at least claimed to represent the entire Ukrainian nation, however, the Greek Catholic Church was almost wholly confined to Galicia, since the great mass of the East Ukrainian Christians were members of the Orthodox faith. 795 [668*]

In the Orthodox lands, religion and national affiliation have always been closely related. Most of the East and South Slavic peoples identify their church with their national existence. Some of the same characteristics which have enhanced the distinctiveness of these peoples have also formed the basis of divisions among the Orthodox Slavs. One such feature is the lack of a supreme authority within the Orthodox Church. Each body of the church, existing in a given territory in a given period, has a well-defined hierarchy, usually governed by a council of bishops and frequently headed by a patriarch or metropolitan. There is, however, no pope at the head of all Orthodoxy. It is true that the Orthodox Church, like the Roman Catholic Church, recognizes the authority of an ecumenical council, but such a council has not been held in the East for a millennium. [182] ●

A difficult question arises at this point: how is the "body of the faithful" or "territory" of each group to be defined? This problem has, in fact, been an extremely troublesome one in the history of the Orthodox Church, for in the absence of a central ecclesiastical authority there can be no final solution. In practice an answer has been provided by another characteristic feature 795 659

[See category 116, pp. 36-38 -- Analyst]

665 Ukrainian population prefers to read, whereas the works of Russian authors remain completely unknown in the Ukraine. It goes on to say that this is a very detrimental phenomenon, for Russian culture is important for the entire Soviet Union and for the whole world, while Ukrainian culture is of merely local significance.

Conversely, the Ukrainians accused the Muscovites of chauvinism. Stalin, the Georgian, tried to pronounce a Solomonic judgment at the Sixteenth Party Congress in June 1930 by condemning both Great Russian and Ukrainian nationalism: "Great Russian chauvinism under the communists reflects the efforts of the ruling classes of former Russia to reconstruct their lost privileges of domination over other peoples. As a result, the chauvinism of Great Russia is the chief danger in the national policy of the Communist Party." In accordance with these ideas, the Sixteenth Congress adopted the resolution that the Party should /117/ intensify its fight against Great Russian deviation and the deviations of "local nationalism".

648
•182 As a matter of fact, Ukrainian nationalism~~?~~ was indeed becoming a danger to Bolshevik Moscow. As compared to the period of war-communism, the Ukraine was living in remarkably comfortable circumstances. The fact that the majority of the [369] Ukrainian people, the rural population, enjoyed an adequate subsistence, must have had a positively irritating effect on the urban masses in their wretched circumstances.~~?~~ Was not this an open refutation of the communist doctrine? There was the additional fact that the Ukrainians became more and more importunate with their varied demands, and that the power of the Ukrainian government had increased so much during the NEP period, that finally it headed the opposition of non-Russian peoples in the Council of Nationalities (the second chamber next to the Supreme Council) and forced Moscow several times to change its~~?~~ [During the NEP period in the Soviet Union - Analyst]

648 budget plans. If things went on in this way the
182 social system of communism would face serious
crises as a result of the flourishing peasant
economy of the Ukraine - in the regions of Great
Russia communal ownership of fields has prevailed
since ancient times - and the Muscovite concep-
tion of national unity might be seriously threat-
ened by the increasing power of "assembled peoples".

In order to avoid these dangers and also
in view of other considerations, Stalin dis-
continued the New Economic Policy and intro-
duced the period of the Five Year Plans. In
spite of the decision of the Sixteenth Party Cong-
ress, the way to Russianization was opened, and
Ukrainization discontinued; Ukrainian nationalism
received a hard blow when free peasant farming
was immediately liquidated. There have been
untold victims of these revolutionary processes
which were attended by violent upheavals from
the time Stalin announced his principle of "soc-
ialism within one country".

648 "Socialism within one country" demanded
185 industrialization as the presupposition for the
independence of the socialistic /118/ state.
This industrialization had to take place through-
out the realm and according to a unified plan.
Every form of particularism could only be detri-
mental - the Ukrainian form doubly so; for in
the Ukraine are the coal and metal and the water
power reserves of the Dniepr from which horse-
power by the millions can be obtained. Such con-
siderations led to the First Five Year Plan, in
the course of which Ukrainian economy, heavy in-
dustry, finance and particularly agriculture were
subordinated to orders from Moscow. The division
of private economy was "liquidated".

661 The new system² introduced the purging of the
Pan-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in the year
1930, where members of the "League for the Liber-
ation of the Ukraine" had entrenched themselves;
they were now "unmasked". In a monster trial in
2 [i.e., Beginning of the Five year plans - Analyst]